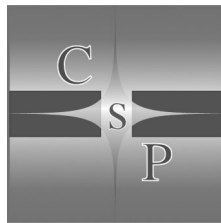


Questioning Linguistics

Edited by

Ahmar Mahboob and Naomi Knight



Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Questioning Linguistics, Edited by Ahmar Mahboob and Naomi Knight

This book first published 2008 by

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

12 Back Chapman Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2XX, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

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ISBN (10): 1-84718-667-X, ISBN (13): 9781847186676

CHAPTER FIVE

“WHAT THE HELL IS WRONG WITH YOU?” A CORPUS PERSPECTIVE ON EVALUATION AND EMOTION IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN POP CULTURE

MONIKA BEDNAREK

1. Introduction

In this chapter I take a corpus linguistic perspective on the language of evaluation and emotion working with a 1.5 million word corpus of American TV dialogue (from the TV series *Gilmore Girls*). I am interested in occurrences of evaluative and emotional phrases such as the following:

1 y? LORELAI: Really. RORY: I don't believe this! Oh my God, I'm going to Chilton!
2 ce things were dirty. RORY: It's 7:16. LO RELAI: Oh my God, I was gonna wear my
3 ok this morning. Good morning, Jackson. S OOKIE: Oh my God, today was Rory's
4 s working. The phone is ringing.) LORELAI: Hey. Oh my God, you have good
5 s in my office if you'd like to see them. RORY: Oh my God, I to tally would.
6 is that? LANE: 12 calories. RORY: Here LANE: Oh my God, bles s you! LANE: Man,
7 sit down. RORY: No I can't sit down. I'm too -- Oh my God, He kissed me! (Mrs.
8 Rich has this amazing hair. RORY: Really? LANE: Oh my God, it's so perfect. It's
9 . (Emily takes a bite and makes a face.) EMILY: Oh my God, it's horrible! What
10 ought we were meeting at Luke's. RORY: We were? Oh my God, I'm so sorry. I

1 >LUKE: What the hell is going on?
2 >LUKE: What the hell is he terrified of?
3 CHRIS: What the hell are you doing here with my daughter?
4 LOGAN: What the hell is wrong with you?
5 >LUKE: What the hell is wrong with them? Why can't they just let the bozo in
6 isbee! What the hell has gotten into you? LUKE: I told Rory we were e
7 RELAI: What the hell is that?
8 YPSY: What the hell are you doing here?
9 >LUKE: What the hell are we doing in a steam room?

As will be shown, phrases like *Oh my God* and *(what) the hell* are used as “implicit cues” (Culpeper, 2001, p.172) to characterisation in TV dialogue, and work as conventionalised realisations of emotionality. The investigation of evaluation and emotion is embedded in the discussion of a three-pronged approach to the analysis of dialogue. More specifically, I

argue for the necessity of combining a large-scale quantitative approach with a small-scale corpus analysis to be complemented by qualitative case studies (in this paper with the help of Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal theory).

This approach extends previous studies in linguistics that involve both corpus and discourse analysis, for instance corpus-based discourse analyses or Matthiessen's (2006) "two-pronged approach" (Matthiessen 2006: 110). It allows us to see quantitative intertextual patterns (large-scale corpus analysis), semantic-pragmatic patterning (small-scale corpus analysis) as well as textual development (qualitative case study). Thus, a three-pronged approach to discourse analysis aims at providing a kaleidoscopic lens which fractures perception, and simultaneously shows us different aspects of emotionality in television dialogue.

2. Analysing TV dialogue

2.1 Why TV dialogue?

Given that television is a popular medium and commonly looked down on in terms of its quality, why choose TV dialogue as data to analyse? On the one hand, the very popularity of television and TV series entails a huge influence of this dialogue in our daily lives. As Roman (2005) points out, "[t]elevision programs and characters have a unique ability to become an intimate part of a household and family" (p.130). This has been called the phenomenon of "parasocial interaction"—a "one-sided friendship television viewers have with a mass communication 'persona' or character" (Lewis, 1994, p.4).

There are also reasons why it might be particularly interesting to look at realisations of emotionality in TV dialogue. No matter how emotions are defined, there is a debate whether they are biologically given or culturally construed. In a strong view, the sociologist Meštrovic has argued that "emotions have been McDonaldized, petrified, routinized, and otherwise made artificial" (Meštrovic, 1997, p.146). However, it has been suggested that emotions are not necessarily either wholly universal or wholly culturally determined, and that these two views might not be completely incompatible (Parrot & Harré 1996: 2, Planalp 1999: 195). Thus, while some aspects of emotion do appear biological/universal, emotional experience and our attitudes towards and beliefs about it are clearly influenced by culture. For instance, the cultural psychologists Kitayama and Markus (1994) state that "emotions are socially and culturally shaped and maintained, especially by means of collective

knowledge that is represented in linguistic convention, everyday practice, and social structure" (p.10). It is in this respect that the analysis of linguistic emotionality in TV dialogue may well be worthwhile.¹

2.2 The corpus: Why the *Gilmore Girls*?

The corpus for this paper consists of 1.5 million words of fan transcripts of the American TV series *Gilmore Girls*, which ran for seven seasons from 2000 to 2007 (GiGi corpus). Note that the transcripts cover all episodes, consist of word-to-word dialogue as well as some descriptions of setting, action scenes and/or camera movements, and include names of speakers (e.g. Lorelai, Rory, Luke). The transcripts are available online and are characterised by multiple authorship, as is common in TV and film production.

In order to allow the reader to follow the discussion of characterisation in Section 3.1.3 below more easily, here is a short description of what the *Gilmore Girls* is about:

Set in a storybook Connecticut town (Stars Hollow) populated with an eclectic mix of everyday folks and lovable lunatics, *GILMORE GIRLS* is a humorous multigenerational series about friendship, family and the ties that bind. [...] [T]he series revolves around thirtysomething Lorelai Gilmore and her college-age daughter, and best friend in the world, Rory. Lorelai has made her share of mistakes in life, but she has been doing her best to see that Rory doesn't follow in her footsteps. That may be easier said than done, considering that the two share the same interests, the same intellect, the same coffee addiction and the same eyes.

From the beginning, this unique mother-daughter team has been growing up together. Lorelai was just Rory's age when she became pregnant and made the tough decision to raise her baby alone. This defiant move, along with Lorelai's fiercely independent nature, caused a rift between her and her extremely proper, patrician, old-money parents, Emily and Richard. However, Lorelai was forced to reconcile with them when she found herself in desperate need of money for Rory's tuition.

Continuing to add to the unmistakable style of Stars Hollow is a colorful roster of town characters, including Lorelai's best friend and business partner Sookie St. James, Miss Patty, the local dance teacher and social commentator, Michel Gerard, the haughty concierge of the Dragonfly Inn, and Kirk, the town's jack-of-all-trades and master of none. Rory's two best friends are her intense classmate Paris Geller and childhood pal Lane Kim, who just married fellow musician, Zack, in a typically quirky Stars Hollow celebration.

(<http://www.cwtv.com/shows/gilmore-girls/about>; official website)

As becomes apparent, the *Gilmore Girls* is a drama/comedy hybrid in terms of TV genres as recognised by Roman (2005). There are several reasons for choosing dialogue from this series as data. Firstly, it is very contemporary; all episodes are available on DVD, and transcripts are available online for all seasons. Secondly, the series has been very successful in a variety of ways: Commercially, it has attracted as many as 5.2 million viewers in the US (season 2) and by season 5, it was the WB channel's second most watched primetime show. It also showed a 120% increase in the cost of an average commercial from 2000 to 2003 (www.nielsenmedia.com). Culturally, the series has received many awards and award nominations, indicating that the series is recognised in the film and television industry. Internationally, the *Gilmore Girls* was/is broadcast in at least 52 different countries, and academically, papers have been presented on the series in research on popular culture, with a recent edited volume dedicated solely to the *Gilmore Girls* (Calvin, 2008).

3. A three-pronged analysis

In order to approach the analysis of dialogue I propose a three-pronged analysis consisting of three different types of research:

- Large-scale quantitative corpus analysis
- Small-scale corpus analysis
- Qualitative discourse analysis (case study)

Each of these approaches has certain foci and advantages as outlined in Table 1 below (for more detail see Bednarek, 2008, Chapter 6):

Table 1: A three-pronged approach (from Bednarek, 2008)

Large-scale corpus analysis	Small-scale corpus analysis	Qualitative discourse analysis
frequency, distribution, patterns, hypothesised general functions	key, stance, functions of emotion terms, patterns with respect to co-articulated meanings	logogenesis, socio-cultural analysis, co-articulated meanings
most representative	less representative	least representative
less detailed description, more descriptive	more detailed description, more interpretive	most detailed description, most interpretive

Thus, a large-scale corpus analysis uses a large (more than 1 million words) corpus and computer software to investigate the frequency and distribution of lexico-grammatical items. If the corpus design is reasonable, it can provide a relatively representative sample of language that allows us to hypothesize about general functions of the respective lexico-grammatical items. On account of the large size of the corpus, however, the description is less detailed than would otherwise be possible. In contrast, a small-scale corpus analysis uses a corpus of a size that is amenable to manual analysis, e.g. of semantic or pragmatic meanings, and that still shows us intertextual patterning of such meanings. On account of its smaller size, such a corpus will be less representative, but its analysis will be more detailed and more interpretive. Finally, undertaking one or several case studies allows for qualitative discourse analysis, which can take into account textual development (logogenesis) and the socio-cultural context (e.g. of production and reception) of the discourses at hand. It will be least representative, in that researchers will be least able to generalise from findings but its analysis will be most detailed and most interpretive. The focus in this paper is on large-scale quantitative corpus analysis (Section 3.1) and on qualitative discourse analysis (Section 3.3), although some comments shall also be made on small-scale corpus analysis (Section 3.2).

3.1 Large-scale quantitative corpus analysis

For the quantitative corpus analysis Scott's (1998) Wordsmith software package was used. This software is widely used in corpus linguistics, and is a useful tool for the analysis of large-scale data that cannot be analysed

manually. It allows the user to produce frequency lists (lists of words and word clusters in the corpus – the *WordList* tool), concordances (occurrences for words or phrases – the *Concord* tool) and key words (words/phrases that are statistically unusual when comparing two corpora – the *KeyWords* tool).

3.1.1 Frequency lists

Let us look first at frequency lists. Excluding names, the 20 most frequent words in GiGi are listed in Table 2:

Table 2: 20 most frequent words in Gigi excluding names

N	Word	Freq.
1	I	44,176
2	THE	41,839
3	YOU	41,266
4	TO	33,188
5	A	27,725
6	AND	26,317
7	IT	19,276
8	THAT	14,415
9	OF	13,990
10	IN	12,632
11	IS	12,414
12	WHAT	10,261
13	S	9,177
14	ME	9,090
15	ON	9,049
16	HAVE	8,717
17	THIS	8,633
18	FOR	8,582
19	NOT	8,463
20	SO	8,428

Although this frequency list tells us something about the data in itself, e.g. that it might be interesting to look in more detail at questions with *what* (N° 12 in the list) or negation with *not* (N° 19), we do not yet know which of these frequencies are particular to the *Gilmore Girls* and which reflect general language tendencies. In other words, if we analyse the corpus that we are interested in (what Scott and Tribble, 2006, p.58 call the “node-

text”) we need another corpus that works as a standard of comparison or baseline to establish what is special about the node corpus (what is called the “reference” corpus by Scott & Tribble 2006, p.58). This reference corpus “should be an appropriate sample of the language which the text we are studying [...] is written in” (Scott & Tribble, 2006, p.58). In the following I use wordlists from two reference corpora: the Santa Barbara Corpus (transcripts of words spoken American English) and the Longman Spoken American Corpus (ca 4,8 million words of spoken American English). It must be noted that the wordlists were compared manually rather than automatically, because the Santa Barbara Corpus (SB) is not big enough to act as a reference corpus in Wordsmith (according to research mentioned by Scott and Tribble (2006, p.65), a reference corpus should be around five times bigger than the node corpus), and because I had no direct access to the Longman Spoken American Corpus (LSAC) but had to work with wordlists that are available in Mittmann (2004).²

3.1.2 N-grams in the *Gilmore Girls*

Because Mittmann (2004) does not provide word lists for individual word forms in LSAC, *WordList* was used to produce a list of the most frequent words in SB. Comparing the lists from GiGi and SB manually, it is interesting to observe that number one to ten in both lists are very similar in both corpora with more striking differences further below:

- *what*: N°12 GiGi vs. N° 19 SB
- *me*: N° 14 GiGi vs. N° 51 SB
- *not*: N° 19 GiGi vs. N° 55 SB
- *on*: N° 15 GiGi vs. N° 26 SB
- *for*: N° 18 GiGi vs. N° 34 SB

This confirms the conclusion drawn from looking at the frequency list of GiGi above, namely that it would be interesting to investigate *what* and *not* further. For example, when we look at 3-word clusters (or 3-grams) for *what*, we can see that the first evaluative/emotional cluster is *What the hell* at N° 16 (55 occurrences). We will look at this phrase in more detail in Section 3.1.3.

In order to compare clusters or n-grams (on clusters/n-grams/lexical bundles see e.g. Biber et al., 1999, Stubbs & Barth, 2003, Mittmann, 2004, Römer, 2008) wordlists from GiGi were compared with wordlists from the LSAC provided in Mittmann (2004). Starting with 2-grams, it is striking that there is still a great deal of overlap between GiGi and LSAC – eight of ten GiGi 2-grams are also among the ten most frequent 2-grams in LSAC,

with only *are you* and *to the* over-represented in GiGi. This seems to indicate that the spoken discourse in GiGi has been well designed to mirror “natural” spoken American English. The high frequency of *to the* in GiGi is perhaps the result of the descriptive passages, whereas the key phrase *are you* might point to the fact that GiGi contains more questions to interlocutor(s) than ordinary conversation. Using *Concord* for looking at clusters with *are you* gives us more information on the kind of questions that might be interesting to analyse further (Table 3):

Table 3: *Are you* clusters

N	cluster	Freq.
1	what are you	761
2	are you doing	471
3	are you talking	175
4	you talking about	169
5	why are you	167
6	are you going	165
7	are you sure	159
8	how are you	159
9	where are you	156
10	you doing here	143

Some of these shall be investigated further in connection with 3-grams. Comparing 3-grams in GiGi and in LSAC still shows some degree of overlap: ten of the 15 most frequent 3-grams in GiGi are also among the 15 most frequent 3-grams in the LSAC. Significantly, *I don't know* is the most frequent 3-gram in both corpora (and, incidentally, also in the SB). *What are you, do you think, out of the, are you doing* and *oh my god* are not among the 15 most frequent 3-grams in the LSAC. However, *what are you* is number 30 in the LSAC, *do you think* is number 32 and *out of the* occurs 60 times (out of 270 total occurrences) in descriptive passages. This leaves us with the more interesting remaining 3-grams *are you doing* and *oh my god*.

Of the occurrences of *are you doing* in GiGi the majority (203 occurrences) are in the form *what ... are you doing ...?* These can be subdivided into three major groups:

- locative (167):
 - *What are you doing here?* (138)
 - *What are you doing* Location (29)

- evaluative (17):
 - *What are you doing X-ing* (7)
 - *What are you doing with X* (6)
 - *What are you doing, Vocative* (4)
- temporal (16):
 - *What are you doing TIME*

As becomes apparent, the great majority of these questions are locative, especially in the form *What are you doing here?* indicating character surprise at the presence of other characters. Interestingly, it achieves this without using any explicitly evaluative or emotional language. The evaluative instances can probably be classified as “demands for explanation” (Spitz, 2005, p.316)—instances of a speech act that belongs to speakers’ “argumentative resources” (Spitz, 2005, p.245). The evaluative phrase *What are you doing X-ing*, which is grammatically “unusual”, is particularly interesting in as far as the whole phrase *what ... are you doing* works to evaluate the following non-finite clause negatively, as shown by some examples:

and what are you doing agreeing to come over here all the time?
what the hell are you doing calling Christopher
what are you doing talking to him about stuff like that
what are you doing yelling ‘Fire’
what are you doing telling my daughter to lie

As for *oh my god*, as we will see later, this is also frequently associated with surprise, confirming the overall significance of this emotion in *Gilmore Girls*. This may be the result of the putative intent of a TV series’ creators to capture the interest of viewers by having unexpected things happen to characters in the series.

Skipping 4- to 6-grams, and moving on to 7-grams in *Gilmore Girls*, the most important ones in GiGi are:³

- *can I talk to you for a* (13) – followed by either *sec/second/minute* or *moment*
- *I don’t want to talk about it* (8)
- *I don’t want to talk about this* (8)
- *I wanted to talk to you about* (8)
- *What do you want me to do* (8)

Two points can be made with respect to this. Firstly, talking emerges as a central action in *GiGi*, where the normal expectation is that issues and problems are talked about and “talked through”, though characters may refuse to obey this expectation. This might be related to the character of *Gilmore Girls* as a “female” drama – reflecting social action that is (perhaps stereotypically) associated with women. Additional 7-grams with *talk* which occur further below in the wordlist confirm this: *I talk to you for a sec* (6); *don’t want to talk about this anymore* (5); *have to talk to you about something* (5); *I have to talk to you about* (5); *I need to talk to you about* (5); *I want to talk to you about* (5); *I don’t know what you’re talking about* (5)). Secondly, these phrases point to confrontational or at least problematic issues, in particular:

I don’t want to talk about it (8)
I don’t want to talk about this (8)
I don’t know what you’re talking about (5)

Further, *I wanted to talk to you about*; *I have to talk to you about*; *I need to talk to you about* often seem to be used to introduce confrontational or problematic issues, such as in the following examples:

I wanted to talk to you about Rory and this ridiculous accusation of her being a loner and how that’s somehow something bad
I have to talk to you about how it’s all feeling wrong
I need to talk to you about something serious

Again, this seems to be the result of what we might call a “dramatic” element in *Gilmore Girls* that is used to capture the viewers’ interest. Other 7-grams reflect the emotionality in the series, which fulfils similar functions as well as construing character relations (*I just want you to be happy* (7); *If it makes you feel any better* (7); *What the hell is wrong with you* (6)).

In order to investigate n-grams in *Gilmore Girls* in more detail, further analysis is necessary, which takes into account context and usage. However, the kind of analysis that has been presented so far is important in as far as it points the researcher to where s/he might need to look more closely.

3.1.3 Evaluation and emotion in the *Gilmore Girls*

Before looking more closely at linguistic realisations of evaluation and emotion in *Gilmore Girls*, it is important to point out that my interest is not in emotion or evaluation as mental processes as such. Rather, the focus is on *the linguistics of emotion and evaluation*, and, more specifically, evaluative and emotional phrases. Further, the occurrence of such phrases is not necessarily a reflection of some inner state of mind; rather, these phrases work as conventionalised signs. The following analysis is limited to a) expletive interjections and b) the evaluative phrase *What the hell is wrong with you*.

Expletive interjections

Following the finding of the importance of *oh my god* in the analysis of 3-grams (Section 3.1.2 above), GiGi was searched for occurrences of a selection of common expletives (compare e.g. Ivarsson Ahlin, 2006) used as interjections. These are:

<i>Jesus</i>	<i>Christ</i>
<i>geez</i> (including <i>oh geez</i> etc)	<i>hell</i>
<i>damn</i>	<i>damn it</i>
<i>shit</i>	<i>fuck</i>
<i>shoot</i>	<i>yuck</i>
<i>god</i>	<i>oh god</i>
<i>for the love of god</i>	<i>dear god</i>
<i>good god</i>	<i>(oh) thank god</i>
<i>for X's sake</i> (<i>for heaven's sake, for</i>	
<i>Pete's sake, for God's sake, for</i>	
<i>goodness sake</i>)	

In Ameka's (1992) terms, these include both primary interjections (*yuck*), secondary interjections (*damn*) and interjectional phrases (*oh thank god; for the love of god*), all of which are emotive rather than cognitive. Expletives have been linked to affect or emotion in a variety of approaches in linguistics (Bednarek, 2008, Chapter 1). For instance, Martin and White (2005) talk about swearing as construing "emotional outbursts" (p.68). And interjections have been defined as "relatively conventionalised vocal gestures [...] which express a speaker's mental state, action or attitude or reaction to a situation (Ameka 1992, p.106). Importantly, "they are all produced in reaction to a linguistic or extra-linguistic context, and can

only be interpreted relative to the context in which they are produced” (Ameka, 1992, p.108). For example, looking at occurrences of *oh my god* in its context in GiGi (not reproduced here for copyright reasons), this can be associated with emotions of

- positive or negative surprise;
- annoyance/exasperation, panic, disgust;
- pleasure/happiness, admiration.

There are also other, more bleached meanings where *oh my god* indicates involvement or emotionality, or marks a sudden realisation. This means that the meaning of interjections becomes clear only by looking at the context and gesture/facial expression/tone of voice etc. Counting expletive interjections will thus only tell us about emotionality/involvement but not about the particular emotions involved. Nevertheless, a corpus analysis does show a number of interesting things, which I will only briefly summarise here:

- 1) There are no occurrences for (*Jesus*) *Christ*, *shit* or *fuck*, although there is one humorous occurrence of *Jesus, Mary, Joseph and a camel*. This reflects the “family-friendly” character of the show which was funded by *the Family Friendly Programming Forum* – a clear influence of external factors. In this sense, no unbiased reflection or construal of reality is possible in GiGi.
- 2) There are 1009 occurrences of expletive interjections uttered by female characters and 239 occurrences uttered by male characters. Even taking into account the number of turns of the six main female and the ten main male characters,⁴ this means that female characters use more exclamatory expletives than male characters. This is interesting because, as Precht has shown using a corpus of 1 million words of spoken American conversation, “men’s expletive frequencies were significantly higher than women’s” (Precht, 2006, p.24). Since such exclamatory expletives signal emotionality, the portrayal of men in *Gilmore Girls* mirrors the stereotypical conception of men as less “emotional” than women at least with regards to expletive interjections.
- 3) There are differences in terms of which expletives are preferred by women and which are preferred by men. Table 4 below lists the most frequent expletives, respectively (% > 5.5):

Table 4: Expletive interjections

Female	Raw	%	Male	Raw	%
<i>oh my god</i>	462	45.8	<i>oh my god</i>	42	17.6
<i>god</i>	178	17.6	<i>geez</i>	40	16.7
<i>oh god</i>	88	8.7	<i>god</i>	35	14.6
<i>(oh) thank god</i>	76	7.5	<i>for X's sake</i>	23	9.6
<i>geez</i>	59	5.8	<i>(oh) thank god</i>	20	8.4
			<i>my god</i>	19	7.9
			<i>damn</i>	15	6.3
			<i>damn it</i>	14	5.9
			<i>oh god</i>	14	5.9
Other	146	14.5	Other	17	7.1
Total	1009	100	Total	239	100

Table 4 shows that male characters in GiGi are more varied than female characters in their usage of the most frequent expletives ($\% > 5.5$) as shown by the presence of the expletives *for X's sake*, *my god*, *damn*, *damn it* in addition to *oh my god*, *god*, *oh god*, *(oh) thank god* and *geez*. Further, if we compare speakers of individual expletives, some interjections seem more "male", others more "female" (Figure 1).

Figure 1 suggests that *oh my god/god* is perhaps more female, whereas *geez*, *damn* and *damn it* (perhaps also *for X's sake/my god*) are more male. This partially reflects Precht's (2006) findings that *damn* is significantly higher in men and *god* significantly higher in women in American conversation (p.25). It also confirms Ivarsson Ahlin's (2006) analysis of movie dialogue, which also found that *oh my god* was the most frequent expletive used by female characters, though on the basis of only very low frequencies.

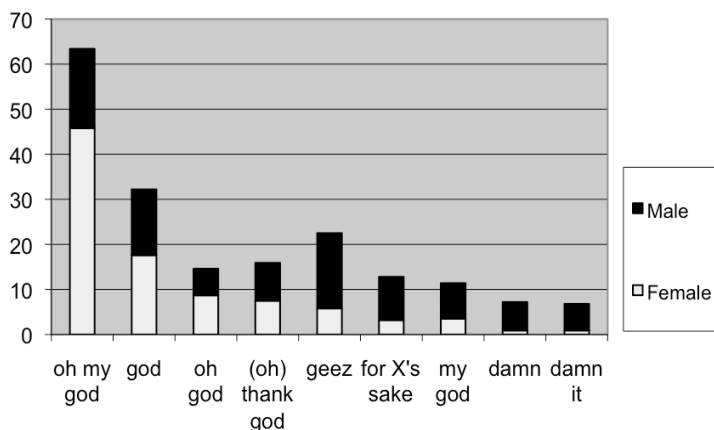


Figure 1: “Male” and “Female” interjections

- 4) Conversely, we can say that those female characters who do use the “strong” or “male” expletives *geez*, *damn/damn it* and *hell* stand out or that the situation where they use these expletives is marked as particularly emotional. Compare the explicit description of a situation as markedly emotional in the following extract:

LORELAI [stunned]: Rory called.

LUKE: I know! She called and yelled at me.

LORELAI: No, she called and yelled at me!

LUKE: Yeah, but I’m the one who had to hear it, and she was loud! And she said – ‘**hell**’. I never heard her say ‘**hell**’. I didn’t even know she knew how to say ‘**hell**’. [Flustered.] She was mad and she yelled and she said ‘**hell**’.

(*Gilmore Girls*, extract from series 6, episode 7, “Twenty-one is the loneliest number”)

Paris is one of the female characters who does use “male” expletives; she has both *damn it* and *hell* among her three most preferred expletives, and it is part of her character that she is harsh, insensitive, undiplomatic and blunt. Her usage of expletives clearly contributes to this construal. Both Lorelai and Rory also use *geez*, which aligns them with both Luke and

Jess who are the most prolific *geez* users among the male characters.

- 5) This points to the fact that similar characters are related by their usage of expletives. In fact, for both Lorelai and Rory (mother-daughter) *oh my god* and *god* are preferred expletive interjections; both Luke and Jess (uncle-nephew) use *geez* most frequently; both Richard and Emily (husband-wife) like to use *for X's sake*.
- 6) It is also interesting to look more closely at characters' non-use of exclamatory expletives, which also seems very much part of their character construal. For example, Richard and Emily hardly ever use expletives such as *geez* or *yuck*, which are too "casual" (and perhaps "young") for them. And Rory tends not to use stronger expletives, in line with her construal as slightly innocent and very studious (compare the 'hell' example above).

In fact, a few characters have "signature" expletives; i.e. they use certain expletives most frequently of all characters (taking into account turns):

- Emily: *for X's sake*
- Jess: *geez*
- Paris: *hell, damn it*
- Kirk: *damn, damn it*
- Michel: *(oh) thank god*
- Sookie: *oh my god*
- Chris: *my god*
- Logan: *hell*
- Jackson: *shoot*
- Doyle: *god*

Summing up these findings, interjections are clearly part of *surge features* that work as *implicit cues* to characterisation (Culpeper (2001, p.190 and research cited there). These, he says, "are frequently used by authors [...] as a conventional way of signalling that a character has a particular emotion or attitude" (Culpeper, 2001, p.192-193). They are part of the construal of individual personae in the series.⁵

What the hell is wrong with you?

Moving on to the evaluative phrase *What the hell is wrong with you*, the decision to look more closely at this phrase results from the importance

of *what* and the occurrence of *what the hell* as cluster found in Section 3.1.2 above. Regarding occurrences for *What the hell...?* itself we find the following important clusters:

- am I/are they/we/you/X doing (17)
- is/was that/this (14)
- is going on/happening (11)
- is wrong with you (them) (8)

I shall discuss only the last phrase, as this is the only one including both emotional and evaluative components: *What the hell* and *wrong with you*. This phrase also occurred in the list of 7-grams described in Section 3.1.2. In terms of the two components, it seems that *what the hell* works both to intensify the negative evaluation that is already present in *What is wrong with you* (increasing the force of the utterance), and to generally signal the speaker's emotionality or involvement.

The phrase *what is wrong with you* is interesting semantically. For instance, it is not listed in the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (OALD), even though it has no equivalents in languages such as German and French. Wierzbicka (2006) in fact dedicates a whole chapter on analysing the cultural embeddedness of *right* and *wrong* in English, though she focuses mainly on *right* rather than *wrong*. Admittedly, the OALD does list examples such as *What's wrong with eating meat* (defined as "not morally right"), and *There's something wrong with the printer* (defined as "causing problems") but these arguably do not have the exact same meaning. Firstly, it seems that it is the whole phrase *What is wrong with you* that carries meaning, and it is, for instance, significant that the contracted form is not used. Secondly, the phrase is very complex in providing both an evaluation of someone's action/behaviour as inappropriate and of the person who acted that way as not "functioning properly", as it were. Not only are speakers saying that they disapprove of some (unspecified) action that has to be retrieved from the context; they are also saying that the action is the result of "something being wrong" (causing problems) with the person. This particular phrase hence seems to span the meanings of "causing problems" and "not morally right", in that some "fault" in a person is said to cause them to act in a certain (bad) way. This is interesting to discuss with respect to Martin and White's Appraisal theory, which will also be relevant in the qualitative analysis in Section 3.3 below. Starting from the assumption that texts position and re-position readers evaluatively in certain ways, Appraisal researchers focus on what they call *appraisal resources* (the linguistic devices of expressing appraisal). One Appraisal system is Attitude, involving "resources for [...]"

reacting emotionally (affect), judging morally (judgement) and evaluating aesthetically (appreciation)" (Martin, 1995, p.28). **Attitude** thus has three sub-systems: Affect, Appreciation and Judgement. Affect systems characterise phenomena by reference to emotion:

Affect (emotion): *I'm happy, She's proud of her achievements, he's frightened of spiders*

Appreciation systems include resources used to evaluate the (aesthetic) quality of processes and products (and human beings when they are seen as entities, and when they are not evaluated in terms of their emotions or behaviour):

Appreciation (aesthetics: evaluating text/process/phenomenon): *It's a fantastic book* (cf. Martin, 2000, p.145f)

Both Affect and Appreciation have further sub-categories (Martin & White, 2005), which, however, will not be applied in this paper.

Judgement systems consist of resources for morally evaluating human behaviour, by reference to a set of norms:

Judgement (ethics: evaluating behaviour): a brutal tyrant, a skilful performer, don't be cruel

Judgement is subdivided in two broad categories: judgements of social esteem (normality, capacity, tenacity) and judgements of social sanction (veracity, propriety).

Thus, in terms of Judgement subcategories, *What ... is wrong with you* is an evaluation of Capacity that works to evaluate retrospectively the Propriety of someone's behaviour, and it would need to be doubly classified. This adds further weights to arguments made in Bednarek (forthcoming) that we need a topological perspective on interpersonal meaning to deal with phenomena such as *appraisal blends* within categories like Judgement.

3.2 Small-scale corpus linguistics

The second perspective on the analysis of discourse is that gained from small-scale corpus linguistics. For reasons of scope this will not be demonstrated in this paper, but the methodology has been applied in both Bednarek (2006a) and Bednarek (2008). It refers to the analysis of small-scale corpora – ideally between 70,000 and 100,000 words – corpora that are small enough for manual, context-sensitive analysis but large enough to show at least some patterns and allow some generalisability. In analogy to large-scale corpus research, a distinction can be made between text-based and text-driven studies (Bednarek, 2006b).

3.3 Qualitative Analysis

The third perspective on the analysis of discourse is that provided by qualitative research—the close-reading type of analysis favoured by discourse analysts. This allows researchers to take into account textual development, or *logogenesis* (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p.43) and social context. Consider this extract of conflict talk from *Gilmore Girls*:

1. EMILY: Lorelai.
2. LORELAI: Mom, hello.
3. EMILY: I wanted to talk to you about the Christmas dinner this Friday.
4. LORELAI: Ah, Christmas dinner
5. EMILY: You forgot.
6. LORELAI: Well mom, there's been a lot going on around here lately, your Christmas shindig's not exactly high on my list of things to obsess about.
7. EMILY: Well I'm sorry if the timing is bad, Lorelai, but the world doesn't always revolve around you.
8. LORELAI: Well thanks for the tip
9. EMILY: Cocktails are at 6, dinner's at 8.
10. LORELAI: I probably won't be there for cocktails.
11. EMILY: Why not?
12. LORELAI: Because I have to work.
13. EMILY: You can't leave work early?
14. LORELAI: No I can't.
15. EMILY: Why not?
16. LORELAI: Because it's not in my job description.
17. EMILY: Well then don't come.
18. LORELAI: What?
19. EMILY: Don't come. It's obviously an enormous burden for you.
20. LORELAI: Yeah but -
21. EMILY: Just send Rory.
22. LORELAI: You're telling me not to come to the Christmas party?

23. EMILY: Well you're obviously too busy.
24. EMILY: I had the German measles in the 5th grade, I still had to show up to the Christmas party.
25. LORELAI: Lorelai let's be honest here, I'm not too happy with you right now and I assume you're not too happy with me.
26. LORELAI: My polka dot dress matched my face and still I had to sit through 12 courses.
27. EMILY: I am tired of forcing you to do all those terrible things that infringe upon your life and I do not have the energy to pretend that the way you treated my the other day was in any way acceptable.
28. LORELAI: So you're uninviting me to Christmas dinner?
29. EMILY: Yes I am.
30. LORELAI: Fine.
31. EMILY: Fine.
32. LORELAI: Ok, anything else?
33. EMILY: I believe that's all.
34. LORELAI: Ok well, great mom, it's been swell talking to you.
35. EMILY: Bye Lorelai.
36. LORELAI: Bye.

(*Gilmore Girls*, extract from series 1, episode 10, "Forgiveness and Stuff")

While this text does not exhibit the prototypical argument format as identified in previous linguistic research (e.g. Spitz 2005), and while this does not really represent an argument about a specific topic, the presence of other features signals that this is indeed conflict talk. For instance, we can find the use of linguistic features that research has shown to occur in arguments. There is an interruption, which has been "related to the accomplishment of aggravated opposition" (Spitz, 2005, p.162), there are dissent markers (*well*) that "emphasise the oppositional character of [...] turns" (Spitz, 2005, p.160), there is "contrastive mirroring" (Spitz, 2005, p.201) (*fine – fine*), and there is not much mitigation. However, in the following sections the focus is on typical speech acts and Attitude (the complete analysis for both is provided in the Appendix).

The following speech acts occur in this extract:

- Greeting and statement (especially at the beginning and end)
- Accusation (5, 19, 23, 24, 26, 27)
- Disqualification (6, 7, 24, 26, 27)
- Explanation (12, 16, 19, 23)
- Demand for explanation (11, 15, 18)
- Demand for clarification (22, 28)
- Directive (17, 19, 21)
- Justification (6)

Insincere apology (7)

Insincere thanks (8)

Clarification (29)

Contradiction (14)

possible Counter-claim (20)

(compare Spitz 2005 for definitions of some of these)

Of these, Accusation, Disqualification, Demand for explanation, Directive, Contradiction and Counter-claim have been classified as “argumentative speech act(ion)s” (Spitz, 2005, p.245). Accusations and Disqualifications are particularly frequent in the extract. Interestingly, we can find hearer speech acts that seem a preferred response to speaker speech acts, but the resulting adjacency pairs (Accusation – Justification or Demand for Explanation – Explanation) are nevertheless confronting, since the second pair part involves a “negative” speech act. Thus, a Justification may be done via a Disqualification or an Explanation may be done via an Accusation:

5. E	You forgot.	Accusation
6. L	Well mom, there’s been a lot going on around here lately, your Christmas shindig’s not exactly high on my list of things to obsess about.	Justification / Disqualification
18. L	What?	Demand for explanation
19. E	Don’t come. It’s obviously an enormous burden for you.	Directive Explanation / Accusation
22. L	You’re telling me not to come to the Christmas party?	Demand for clarification
23. E	Well you’re obviously too busy.	Explanation / Accusation

An Appraisal analysis also shows that this is conflict talk. Looking at all Attitude values in terms of Martin and White’s (2005) classification, a majority involves negative Judgement followed by negative Appreciation. Judgement is used by Emily and Lorelai to evaluate each other’s behaviour negatively, whereas Appreciation concerns evaluations of the Christmas dinner. In other words, negative Judgement and Appreciation

are associated with the speech acts of Accusation and Disqualification introduced above. There is only some Affect (*wanted to, not too happy, tired of*; conventionalised: *I'm sorry, thanks*) and the only instance of positive Judgement (*let's be honest here*) arguably intensifies the force of the following proposition rather than evaluating Emily's behaviour positively. Interestingly, there are many embedded attitudinal appraisals, for instance those presented in Table 5 below:

Table 5: Embedded appraisals

Speaker	Text	Appraisal	Appraiser	Appraised	Category
Emily (E)	I am tired of forcing you to do all those terrible things that infringe upon your life	I am tired of forcing you to do all those terrible things that infringe upon your life	E	Lorelai	neg Judgement
		I am tired of	E	forcing ... your life	neg Affect
		forcing	E	action	neg Judgement
		terrible	Lorelai (attributed by E)	things	neg Appreciation
		infringe		things	neg Appreciation

This example is notable in that the complete clause (*I am tired of ... life*) works to express a negative Judgement of Lorelai on the part of Emily. Looking at the embedded negative Judgement and Appreciations (*forcing, terrible, infringe*) it becomes clear that Emily is being ironic and implicitly attributes some of these evaluations to Lorelai (ie, that only Lorelai thinks these things are terrible and infringe upon her life). This implicit attribution in itself contributes to the negative evaluation of Lorelai by accusing her of having negative attitudes towards what should not be evaluated negatively according to Emily. The fact that Emily has to force Lorelai (with *forcing* an arguably negative action) reflects on Lorelai rather than Emily. This is reinforced by negative Affect, with forcing as a tiring action for Emily (*tired of* is negative Affect: displeasure). All in all,

the complex evaluations suggest that it is Lorelai who is to blame, not Emily. Such implicit attributions and irony are difficult to capture in anything other than a qualitative discourse analysis.

Other aspects that are of note in this extract include the use of deontic modality, or modulation (obligation and readiness: *have to*, *had to*, *can't*) and the use of irony in Lorelai's utterances which turns positive evaluations into negative ones (*thanks for the tip, fine; great mum, it's been swell talking to you*). In conjunction with other argumentative resources (as mentioned above) and paralinguistic features not investigated (volume increase, tone, stress, emphatic intonation), speech acts and appraisal thus clearly contextualise this interaction as conflict talk.

4. Concluding remarks

This study showed how linguistic features can work as implicit cues to characterisation and also demonstrated the importance of conflict, drama and surprise in an American TV series. It also suggested that a corpus perspective on evaluation and emotion in popular culture can provide a useful input to studying TV dialogue, showing a way into the more detailed analysis of selected features. For example, the importance of the 3-gram *are you doing* resulted in an analysis of the larger patterns in which this 3-gram was embedded and in the identification of a longer phrase (*What are you doing here?*) that indicates character emotion (surprise) without any explicitly evaluative or emotional language. Further, the frequency of the 3-gram *oh my god* took us into a more detailed investigation of expletive interjections in general in terms of character and relationship construal. Finally, the importance of *what* and, more specifically, of the cluster *what the hell* resulted in a decision to look more closely at the evaluative phrase *What the hell is wrong with you* in terms of its evaluative and emotional meanings. The investigation of (argumentative) speech acts and Appraisal in a selected case study completed the study of evaluation and emotion in the *Gilmore Girls* and showed that more intricate features (e.g. irony) become apparent only in a qualitative analysis. Such analysis cannot yet be automated reliably (how can we identify all relevant speech acts and Appraisal instances in a large corpus?) and can only be undertaken for selected corpus extracts. However, a semi-automated study of semantic-pragmatic features would be feasible in a small-scale corpus, allowing us to see intertextual patterning of such features and providing a third perspective on the construal of emotionality and evaluation in discourse. The different perspectives that become apparent through these three methodologies

extend previous discourse studies, and are the reason why I argue for a three-pronged approach to the analysis of TV dialogue and to the analysis of discourse in general.

Notes

1. It is also worth noting that TV and film dialogue can have a significant influence on learners of English in non-English speaking countries, who may buy the DVDs and watch the original versions. For such learners, "films [and TV series, M.B.] may be one of the best opportunities to hear a foreign language spoken. This also means that film [and TV, M.B.] language becomes an influential model for advanced learners of English" (Mittmann, 2006).
2. For a comparison of dialogue in *Friends*, *Golden Girls* and *Dawson's Creek* and everyday spoken English see Mittmann (2006).
3. 7-grams from GiGi could not be compared to lists of 7-grams from either the LSAC or the SB because they are not provided by Mittmann (2004), and because the SB is too small to yield many occurrences of 7-grams. Frequency is inverse to cluster size: as cluster size goes up, the raw frequency of occurrence goes down, but differences between corpora appear to become more pronounced.
4. Female: Lorelai, Rory, Emily, Sookie, Lane and Paris; male: Luke, Richard, Logan, Dean, Jess, Christopher, Kirk, Michel, Zach and Jackson (the result of a *Concord* search for the name in capitals followed by a colon, as this is how speakers are marked in the corpus).
5. It is interesting to compare the findings for expletives in *Gilmore Girls* with findings by Mittmann (2006) for the American TV series *Friends*, *Golden Girls* and *Dawson's Creek*. She notes that *god* and *hell* occur frequently in these TV series (in contrast to the f-word), with *god* "[taking] over the functions of many other swear words. It is interesting to note in this context that in the films the word *hell* occurs predominantly as part of the sequence WH- + *the hell* (mostly *what/who/how the hell*)." The latter finding is also confirmed by the analysis of *What the hell* below, which may point to these features being characteristic of TV dialogue in general (not just dialogue in the *Gilmore Girls*).

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APPENDIX

Speech acts

1	E	Lorelai.	Greeting
2	L	Mom, hello.	Greeting
3	E	I wanted to talk to you about the Christmas dinner this Friday.	Statement
4	L	Ah, Christmas dinner.	Statement (repetition)
5	E	You forgot.	Accusation
6	L	Well mom, there's been a lot going on around here lately, your Christmas shindig's not exactly high on my list of things to obsess about.	Justification/Disqualification
7	E	Well I'm sorry if the timing is bad, Lorelai, but the world doesn't always revolve around you.	Insincere Apology/Disqualification
8	L	Well thanks for the tip.	Insincere thanks
9	E	Cocktails are at 6, dinner's at 8.	Statement
10	L	I probably won't be there for cocktails.	Statement
11	E	Why not?	Demand for explanation
12	L	Because I have to work.	Explanation
13	E	You can't leave work early?	Question (but very likely rhetorical: Statement)
14	L	No I can't.	Answer (very likely: Contradiction)
15	E	Why not?	Demand for explanation
16	L	Because it's not in my job description.	Explanation
17	E	Well then don't come.	Directive
18	L	What?	Demand for explanation
19	E	Don't come. It's obviously an enormous burden for you.	Directive Explanation/Accusation
20	L	Yeah but -	Introducing possible Counter-claim

21	E	Just send Rory.	Directive
22	L	You're telling me not to come to the Christmas party?	Demand for clarification
23	E	Well you're obviously too busy.	Explanation / Accusation
24	L	I had the German measles in the 5th grade, I still had to show up to the Christmas party.	Disqualification / Accusation
25	E	Lorelai let's be honest here, I'm not too happy with you right now and I assume you're not too happy with me.	Statement (possibly Disqualification)
26	L	My polka dot dress matched my face and still I had to sit through 12 courses.	Disqualification / Accusation
27	E	I am tired of forcing you to do all those terrible things that infringe upon your life and I do not have the energy to pretend that the way you treated my the other day was in any way acceptable.	Disqualification / Accusation
28	L	So you're uninviting me to Christmas dinner?	Demand for clarification
29	E	Yes I am.	Clarification
30	L	Fine.	Statement
31	E	Fine.	Statement
32	L	Ok, anything else?	Question
33	E	I believe that's all.	Answer
34	L	Ok well, great mom, it's been swell talking to you.	(Closing) Statement
35	E	Bye Lorelai.	Greeting
36	L	Bye.	Greeting

Attitude

S	Text	Appraisal	Appraiser	Appraised	Appraisal category
E	Lorelai.				
L	Mom, hello.				
E	I wanted to talk to you about the Christmas dinner this Friday.	I wanted to	Emily	talk to Lorelai about Christmas dinner	Affect (desire)
L	Ah, Christmas dinner.				
E	You forgot.	You forgot	Emily	Lorelai's behaviour	neg Judgement
L	Well mom, there's been a lot going on around here lately, your Christmas shindig's not exactly high on my list of things to obsess about.	a lot going on	Lorelai	happenings in Lorelai's life	(neg) Appreciation
		not exactly high on my list of things to obsess about		Emily's Christmas party	neg Appreciation
		obsess		action	neg Judgement
E	Well I'm sorry if the timing is bad, Lorelai, but the world doesn't always revolve around you.	I'm sorry	Emily	the timing is bad	Affect (conventionalised)
		bad		timing of Emily's party	neg Appreciation
		the world doesn't always revolve around you		Lorelai	neg Judgement
L	Well thanks for the tip.	thanks for	Lorelai	the tip	pos Affect (conventionalised) NEGATIVE IRONY
E	Cocktails are at 6, dinner's at 8.				

L	I probably won't be there for cocktails.				
E	Why not?	Why?	Emily	that Lorelai won't be there	neg Appreciation
L	Because I have to work.	have to	Lorelai	work	modulation: obligation
E	You can't leave work early?	can't	Emily	leave work early	modulation: readiness (ability)
L	No I can't.	can't	Lorelai	leave work early	modulation: readiness (ability)
E	Why not?	Why?	Emily	that Lorelai can't leave work early	neg Appreciation
L	Because it's not in my job description.				
E	Well then don't come.				
L	What?	What?	Lorelai	that Lorelai shouldn't come	neg Appreciation
E	Don't come. It's obviously an enormous burden for you.	it's an enormous burden	Lorelai (attributed by Emily!)	coming to the party	neg Appreciation
L	Yeah but -				
E	Just send Rory.				
L	You're telling me not to come to the Christmas party?	You're telling me not to come to the party	Lorelai	Emily's behaviour	neg Judgement
E	Well you're obviously too busy.	you're too busy	Emily	Lorelai	neg Judgement

L	I had the German measles in the 5th grade, I still had to show up to the Christmas party.	I had the German measles ... party.	Lorelai	Emily's behaviour or situation	neg Judgement
		still had to		show up to the Christmas party	Counter plus obligation
E	Lorelai let's be honest here, I'm not too happy with you right now and I assume you're not too happy with me.	let's be honest here	Emily	content of following utterance	pos Judgement but works as intensifier
		I'm not too happy with you		Lorelai	neg Affect
		you're not too happy with me	Lorelai (attributed by Emily!)	Emily	neg Affect
L	My polka dot dress matched my face and still I had to sit through 12 courses.	My polka dot dress ... courses	Lorelai	Emily's behaviour or situation	neg Judgement/Appreciation
		still had to		sit through 12 courses	Counter plus obligation
		sit through		12 courses	neg Appreciation
E	I am tired of forcing you to do all those terrible things that infringe upon your life and I do not have the energy to pretend that the way you treated my the other day was in any way acceptable.	I am tired of forcing you to do all those terrible things that infringe upon your life	Emily	Lorelai	neg Judgement
			Emily	forcing ... your life	neg Affect
			Lorelai (attributed by Emily!)	action	neg Judgement
				things	neg Appreciation
		I do not have the energy to pretend that the way you treated me the other day was in any way acceptable	Emily	action	neg Appreciation
				Lorelai	neg Judgement
		I do not have the energy		Emily (I) to pretend that ...	Judgement: capacity Appreciation: complexity
		[not] acceptable		the way Lorelai treated E.	neg Judgement

L	So you're uninviting me to Christmas dinner?	you're uninviting me to Christmas dinner	Lorelai	Emily's behaviour	neg Judgement
E	Yes I am.				
L	Fine.	Fine	Lorelai		pos Appreciation NEGATIVE IRONY
E	Fine.	Fine	Emily		pos Appreciation NEGATIVE IRONY
L	Ok, anything else?	ok	Lorelai		
E	I believe that's all.				
L	Ok well, great mom, it's been swell talking to you.	ok	Lorelai		
		great			pos Appreciation NEGATIVE IRONY
		swell		talking to Emily	pos Appreciation NEGATIVE IRONY
E	Bye Lorelai.				
L	Bye.				